

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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E.O 11652
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: DRAFTING GROUP MEETING NO. 186, JANUARY 25, 1978
(SALT TWO-1582)

REF: SALT TWO 1578

SUMMARY: SOVIETS PROBED INTENSIVELY FOR RATIONALE AND IMPLICATIONS OF US PROPOSAL TO PROHIBIT FLIGHT-TESTING OR DEPLOYMENT OF ASBMS DURING TERM OF PROTOCOL (REFTEL). US STRESSED DESIRABILITY OF PERIOD OF REFLECTION FOR BOTH SIDES BEFORE DECIDING HOW TO PROCEED ON ASBMS. GROUP ALSO HAD INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION OF CHARACTERISTICS/CAPABILITIES ISSUE IN II.3. END SUMMARY.

1. US TABLED PROPOSED TEXT OF ART. IV OF PROTOCOL, WHICH TRIGGERED LONG SERIES OF SOVIET QUESTIONS. WAS 3 YEAR PERIOD FOR REFLECTION MERELY CONVENIENT CHOICE BECAUSE THIS WAS TERM OF PROTOCOL? US REPLIED THAT PERIOD OF PROTOCOL APPEARED APPROPRIATE AND PROTOCOL WAS SUITABLE FRAMEWORK BECAUSE IT WAS DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH ISSUES NOT FULLY RESOLVED IN TREATY. DURING SALT THREE,

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WITHIN TERM OF PROTOCOL, EFFORTS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON FURTHER QUALITATIVE RESTRAINTS COULD HAVE BEARING ON ULTIMATE RESOLUTION OF ASBM ISSUE.

2. SOVIETS ASKED WHY PROPOSED ASBM BAN COVERED ONLY FLIGHT-TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT AND NOT DEVELOPMENT, WHICH WAS INCLUDED ELSEWHERE IN TREATY. PEREZ POINTED

OUT THAT THIS WAS TREATMENT SIMILAR TO THAT ACCORDED
OTHER WEAPONS SYSTEMS IN PROTOCOL. PROTOCOL WAS NOT
INTENDED TO PREDETERMINE ISSUES BUT PERMIT FURTHER
CONSIDERATION. IN RESPONSE OTHER QUESTIONS, US INDICATED
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THAT ASBMS COULD BE DEVELOPED BUT NOT FLIGHT-TESTED.
SMOLIN CHARGED THAT US PROPOSAL WOULD RDEDETERMINE
DECISIONS BECAUSE IT WOULD PE RMIT CREATING MATERIAL
BASIS FOR DEPLOYMENT. PEREZ REPLIED THAT IF US HAD
WISHED TO PREDETERMINE ISSUE IT WOULD NOT HAVE PROPOSED
BAN IN PROTOCOL.

3. SMOLIN QUERIED RRELEVANCE OF US PROPOSAL TD POSSIBLE
MULTIPLE WARHEADS ON CRUISE MISSILES. PEREZ NOTED US
POSITION HAS NOT CHANGED ON THAT SUBJECT. UNDER US
PROPOSALS IN JDT, THERE ARE NO LIMITS ON MULTIPLE WARHEADS
FOR CMS. SMOLIN COMMENTED THAT HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED
WITH CRUISE MISSILES CONTAINING MULTIPLE WARHEADS EQUAL
MIRV-SQUARED.

4. SOVIETS SAID THEY WERE UNABLE TO AGREE TO USE OF
"OPERATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS" AND ITS RUSSIAN EQUIVALENT
IN ART. II.3. AS THIS TERM INTRODUCED SUBJECTIVE ELEMENT
WHEREAS SIDES WANTED OBJECTIVE CRITERIA. SMOLIN THEN
OFFERED POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION WHICH DROPPED
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ANY REFERENCE TO CAPABILITIES OR CHARACTERISTICS, LEAVING
QUESTION OF WHICH TYPES OF BOMBERS IN FUTURE ARE SIMILAR
OR SUPERIOR TO CURRENT TYPES OF HEAVY BOMBERS TO BE
AGREED UPON IN SCC. PRIOR TO FORMAL MEETING, KOUKLEV HAD
TOLD SCHNEITER AND KWIECIAK THAT SOVIET CONCEPT OF
"KHARAKTERISTIKI" INCLUDES FACTORS SUCH AS SPEED, COMBAT
RADIUS, AND SERVICE CEILING, AND ALSO COULD INCLUDE
MAXIMUM TAKE-OFF WEIGHT ALTHOUGH THE LAST WAS NOT
NECESSARY. SIDES AGREED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION LATER.
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